

Business Notices.

TO CASH, OR FIRST-CLASS TIME BUYERS OF
LEADS.—For a few days we shall offer more than our
usual inducement to buyers, as we are forced to remove a large
stock of LEADS, owing to the termination of our lease.
SMITH & WILSON, No. 90-92, New-York.

GROCERIES AND FLOUR FOR THE MILLION.
Cheapest Store in the world. Goods delivered free.
No. 200 Greenwich-st. and 2nd Murray-st., New-York.

LYON'S POWDER AND HIS PILLS.
All the latest 24 lbs. will fill.
All genuine LYON'S MAGNETIC LIVER POWDER AND PILLS
have the trade-mark of E. LYON. All others are counterfeits or
are imitations. Beware of unprincipled imitations. Sold by D.
S. BARNES, No. 202 Broadway, and by all respectable dealers.

Soldiers who are Raptured can be radically cured
by using WHITE'S PATENT LIVER PILLS. It is used with per-
fect success in the European Armies. Consultation gratis. No. 412 Broadway.

TRUSSES.—MARSH & CO.'S RADICAL CURE
Trusses, No. 2, New-York, opposite the church. All kinds of
Trusses, Supporters, Military Shoulder Braces and Abdominal
Supporters (substituted) Elastic Stockings, and Mechanical Ap-
plications for Deformities. (A female attends ladies.)

TRUSSES.—DR. HUGH'S HARD RUBBER TRUSS
challenges comparison with any other made in New-York. Sits
easy, does not give. Warranted clean and perfect for 5 years.
Office for the radical treatment of Hernia, Varicocele, &c. No.
2 BARCLAY-ST.

New-York Daily Tribune

MONDAY, AUGUST 12, 1861.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

No notice can be taken of Anonymous Communications. What
ever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the
name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publica-
tion, but as a guarantee for his good faith.
We cannot undertake to return rejected Communications.
All business letters for this office should be addressed to "THE
TRIBUNE," New-York.

The Republican State Convention.

The Republican Electors of the State of New-York,
and all others willing to unite with them in support of the Gov-
ernment and a vigorous prosecution of the war, are requested to
attend the Convention of the Republican Party, to be held at
the City of Syracuse, on WEDNESDAY,
the 15th day of September, 1861, at 11 a. m., for the purpose of
presenting candidates to be supported for the offices of Judges of
the Court of Appeals, Secretary of State, Controller, Attorney-
General, State Engineer and Surveyor, State Treasurer, two
Canal Commissioners, and Inspector of State Prisons. By order
of the Committee.
SIMEON DRAPER, Chairman.
JAMES TRINWELLER, Secretary.

The Sunday Tribune.

The following are the contents of yesterday's
LEADING ARTICLES:
The Latest War News; Facts; Rebel Privileging; John
Bull and Bull Run; Why Cotton is King; A New
Herald in Evidence; The Two Civilizations; Editorial
F. & G.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION:
Gen. Garibaldi and his Offers to Fight for the Nation;
He is Accepted and Made Major-General; Prince Na-
poleon among the Rebels; How they Prepared for
War; Supervision of the Telegraph; Gen. Wool
Goes to Fortress Monroe; Assassination of Pickens;
From Western Virginia; Surrender to the Hon. Galista
A. Crow.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT INTELLIGENCE:
The Rebel Fortifying Martins Point; The Potomac to be
Closed; Secession at Work in Maryland; Washington
to be cut off.

NEW PUBLICATIONS:
An English View of Slavery and Secession; Books Re-
ceived.

LITERARY AND ARTISTIC.

PERSONAL.

THE STATE OF EUROPE:
Letter from Our Own Correspondent.

FRANCE:
Letter from Our Own Correspondent.

CORRESPONDENCE:
The Ohio Peace Conference; The Battle of Athens;
The Union Force; Triumphs Against Large Odds;
A Brief Account of the 7th of Bull Run; The De Kalb
Regiment; A Letter from Mr. S. T. Wallis; The Cotton
Question.

POLITICAL.

LATEST TELEGRAPHIC DISPATCHES.

LOCAL MILITARY MATTERS.

FROM MARYLAND:
The New York Party; Its Purposes; Hopes of the Union;
The Suppression of the Secessionists; Movements of
Troops.

BATTLE OF BULL RUN:
Reports of Commanders of Divisions.

MISCELLANEOUS:
The Country Flooded with Confederate Bills; The Recent
Gains of the United Kingdom; The Gold Fields of
British North America; A New Route to Washington;
The Battle of Martins Point; The African Slave-Trade;
Queen Victoria in the Approaches of Death at San
Francisco.

CITY ITEMS.

BROOKLYN ITEMS.

NEW-JERSEY ITEMS.

LAW INTELLIGENCE.

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

COMMERCIAL MATTER.

MARINE JOURNAL.

Single Copies for sale in the Counting Room. Price Three
Cents.

The Tribune's War Maps.

LIST OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED
AT THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

Now Ready, EXTRA TRIBUNE, containing the various
Maps published in THE TRIBUNE since the com-
mencement of the War. It also contains a
list of the killed and wounded in the late battle, so far
as ascertained. Price five cents. Three dollars per
100. Terms cash. Address

THE TRIBUNE, New-York.

Tribune for California and the Pacific
Coast.

We shall issue an edition of THE TRIBUNE this
morning for circulation on the Pacific Coast, Cal-
ifornia, and Oregon. It will contain the latest war
and other important news. Copies can be procured at the
desk in the Counting-Room.

**The Hon. Joseph Holt was at Oswego on Sat-
urday.** He there had an enthusiastic impromptu
reception by 5,000 citizens, in answer to whose
greetings he said a few cheering words.

From St. Domingo we have advices to the
25th ult., stating that the war between Hayti and
Spain is at an end, the difficulties between the
two countries being amicably adjusted. The
Spanish authorities declare Slavery forever abol-
ished in the Island, and threaten with severe
penalties any person endeavoring to reinstate the
system.

We give this morning a number of additional
reports of brigade and staff officers, which still
further explain the causes of our reverse at the
battle of Bull Run. They also set at rest some
questions relative to our preparations and the
successes gained by the Rebels, which have hith-
erto been in dispute. The report of the Sub-
sistence Department, for example, discloses the fact
that 160,000 complete rations were issued to the
army on Friday, an amount sufficient to sustain
it for four days, but that the regimental commis-
saries, in many cases, neglected to draw their
portions, which remained at the headquarters of
divisions and brigades. The report of Major
Barry, chief of the artillery, shows that his
whole force consisted of 49 pieces, so that the
Rebel exultations over the capture of some 60 or
70 guns were as baseless as their alimentary
joys in respect of the fabulous dinners found at
Centerville. Col. Keyes and Col. Sherman sup-
ply most interesting accounts of the action of
their brigades, and the statement of Major Sykes
for the first time puts the honorable conduct of
the little battalion of regulars before the world.

In confirmation of reports we have already
published from various sections of the South

which depict the deplorable domestic and social
condition Secession has brought upon the people,
an intelligent correspondent, whose letter is
printed in another column, gives many interesting
facts in regard to affairs in Texas, the Indian
Territory, and Missouri, through which he has
recently traveled. A positive reign of terror pre-
vails in the latter State. Homes are deserted,
and the promising crops stand ungathered in the
fields. Flight and terror and despair are the rule
of the day. The Rebels are in no condition to
meet the accumulating force of loyalists, and
desertions in disgust are frequent. Among the
Indians John Ross, with his powerful tribe, stands
in a strictly neutral attitude. This correspondent
states that Gen. Sam. Houston can find no exercise
for his sentiments in the national crisis, and
leads a dormant home-life, not telling a soul
what he thinks or feels, or whether he thinks or
feels at all.

No one will grudge the large space we give
in this morning's paper to the speech of Senator
Johnson, of Tennessee, who will take the trouble
to read it. If it wants the grace of rhetoric
and the elegance of a finished style, there is
quite as much of these as could be expected from
a man whose early life was spent on a tailor's
shop-board, who earned his living by his needle
long before he could read, who was self-taught
even in the simplest rudiments of education, who
never in all his life had a single day's schooling,
and who has risen to his present station simply
by the energy of his own character and the vigor
of his own mind. But the speech has, neverthe-
less, that basis of all true eloquence, a most vig-
orous common-sense, a power of keen analysis,
a clearness of statement, and a power putting
strong thought into plain and appropriate, though
sometimes homely, language. It sweeps away
sophistries like cobwebs, strips treason of all its
disguises, leaving it without even a figment to cover
its nakedness. Mr. Johnson is a practical man,
and relies more upon facts than upon arguments.
He goes by the record, and shows by chapter
and verse, by article and line, that the allegation
of the Secessionists, and their Northern friends
of the Richmond and Cragger school, of any
"Northern sectionalism," of any design to in-
fringe upon Southern Constitutional rights, is ut-
terly and absurdly false. So far from this being
true, he shows by documentary evidence that
the grievance of the South is the existence of a
Republican Government; that they do not mean
to tolerate any Government not in subjection to
that interest which finds its model in South
Carolina, where a man must have a fee simple
in ten of his fellow-creatures before he is qual-
ified to be a legislator. The times have brought
no clearer and no more philosophical statement
of the whole case than this speech of the Sena-
tor from Tennessee. Its closing appeal for pro-
tection to the loyal men of his own State, whom
he so nobly represents, should find an answer in
the heart of every man who loves his country.

THE LATEST WAR NEWS.

We have nothing of great importance from
Washington, the rule laid down by Gen. McClel-
land preventing the publication of any information
touching intended movements. We hear of the
Rebels that there are but two regiments of in-
fantry at Fairfax Court-House, and that there
are no fortifications of any strength on or near
the battle-field of Bull Run. The entrenchments
at Manassas Junction are said not to be for-
midable.

Secretary Cameron has sent to Gen. Butler a
letter of instructions, which we publish this
morning. The subject of communication is the
treatment of fugitive slaves. The instructions of
Mr. Cameron are in effect these: To consider all
such negroes as have belonged to rebels as con-
fiscated, according to the recent act of Congress;
to hold such as appear to be the property of
loyal citizens till further instructions are given,
keeping a record of them, their services, and the
cost of their maintenance; to allow no inter-
ference by the soldiers with the slaves; to report
twice a month to the Department concerning
this matter.

From Fortress Monroe we learn that the
George B. Baker of Galveston has been taken
there, with a Rebel crew of four in irons. The
Baker was captured by a United States vessel,
off Galveston, while attempting to run the block-
ade. The privateer York afterward took her as
she was coming to New-York, and put on board
a prize crew. The United States gunboat
Union chased the York, and succeeded in burning
her, though the crew escaped; the gunboat re-
took the Baker, and seized the four men spoken
of above. Lieut. Crosby, who four days ago set
out with an expedition for the shore of Eastern
Virginia, had not on Saturday been heard from,
but no fears of his safety were entertained. We
learn that a white woman, an invalid, was
burnt to death at the destruction of Hampton.

From Fort Pickens we have a word or two
of news by the schooner Wm. S. Tisdale, which
has recently landed ordnance stores at the Fort.
Her advices contain nothing of importance; the
health and spirits of the National troops are
good, and the rebels are diligently strengthening
their position. The Captain of the schooner
states that, on the 8th inst., off Cape Hatteras,
he was chased by a Southern pirate, who fired
several guns at the vessel, none of the shots,
however, doing any harm.

We print this morning another private letter
from Col. Corcoran, which contains lists of the
prisoners at Richmond.

From Missouri we have no news of further fight-
ing, though a battle with the Rebels was hourly
expected, our troops being on their arms and
having everything in readiness for moving at a
moment's notice. The enemy was at Wilson
Creek, thirteen miles from Springfield.

THE CASE OF COMPROMISE.

In times of trial and of peril, the need of
plain, unambiguous language is peculiarly im-
perative. He who "palters in a double sense"
with reference to the momentous issues whereon
is staked the life of the Nation is guilty not only
of falsehood but of moral treason.

What do they mean, then, who still talk of a
Compromise with the armed, defiant treason
which now threatens the very existence of the
Republic?

No one in the revolted States openly speaks,
or dare speak of a Compromise. The very idea
of one is there unanimously scouted. Hate of
the North, execration of the North, defiance of
the North, destruction to the North, are the
universal outcries. No distinction of person or
party is tolerated: *The Herald* is execrated
equally with *THE TRIBUNE*; *The New-York Ob-
server* with *The Independent*. Even *The Journal*

of Commerce—such is the prevailing ignorance
and blind fury—is not tolerated in the dominions
of Jeff. Davis. To be severed from the Free
States—rid of the North, thoroughly and for-
ever—such is the burden of every utterance al-
lowed to reach us from the revolted States.
And there can be no reason to doubt that, so
far as the dominant faction in those States is
concerned, this aspiration is perfectly sincere.
And as to the crushed-out, ragged, battered
Union men of the South, their opinions and
wishes are for the present of no more conse-
quence than those of so many animals. Practi-
cally, then, the revolted States are a unit in de-
manding—not concessions, not a compromise,
but the full and final dissolution of the Union.

They who among us talk of compromise in full
view of the existing attitude of the revolt mean
acquiescence in disunion, or they are swindling
themselves and others. They mean at least that
the Southern American system of revising and test-
ing every Presidential Election by a revolt of the
defeated party shall here be inaugurated as one
of our institutions. For if one election is to be
followed by a revolt, and that revolt shall impose
terms on the Government, it were absurd to
suppose that the success of the revolt would
not inspire others to follow their example. Con-
cession to the rebels as the price of their return
to loyalty would sanctify their revolt, admit its
justice, and exalt it into a precedent for defeated
politicians through all coming time. Even to re-
store the semblance of Union by such truckling
would be to admit and establish the right of each
defeated faction in turn to defy and destroy it.

No—there can be no compromise, for there is
no ground on which to make one. The rebels
must either be beaten and forced to sue for
mercy, or they must beat the Government and
carry off a third of the Republic permanently, as
Satan is said to have drawn after him in his
rebellion a third of the host of Heaven. If they
succeed, the Nation is humbled, dismembered,
and cast down from its place among the Great
Powers of Christendom. If they are defeated,
the right of the Nation to exist is vindicated, its
foreign and domestic enemies confounded, and its
place among the powers of the earth will be
higher and more assured than ever. The success
of the rebellion will supplant one great nation by
two relatively insignificant; it will degrade the
South even more than the North, which would
still retain a vast preponderance in population,
wealth, industry and power. There is scarcely
an acre, there is never a slave, in all Secession,
that would not be diminished in value by the
success of the Slaveholders' Rebellion. And more
than this—Slavery itself, through the advancement
of the line of absolute refuge for the hunted fugitive
from the Lakes to the Ohio, will thereafter have
but a precarious and transient existence. If the
slaveholders could but see—if their vision had not
been sealed against truth obvious to everybody
else—they would make haste to abandon their
rebellious attitude for one of loyalty and peace,
if for no other end than the conservation of their
"peculiar institution." While they remain loyal
in the Union, they will always have guarantees
in the Constitution and a powerful mercantile
and partisan support in the North. If they
succeed in cutting adrift from the Union, they
evidently mean to trade with us to the least pos-
sible extent, and to import directly from Europe.
Who does not see that this will naturally deprive
them of any party in the Free-States?

Whatever the issue of this contest may be, it
must impose heavy public burdens on North and
South alike; and those burdens Slavery—whether
in or out of the Union—must help to bear.
Whether it take the form of export duties on
slave produce or any other, it is scarcely possible
that slaves will ever again command the prices
for which they were eagerly bought last year.
The early defeat or surrender of the rebels may
secure to Slavery a further life-span of a gen-
eration or two; Disunion will work its ruin in
the course of a few years. But be this as it
may, there remains no alternative but the defeat
of the rebels or their absolute triumph; and they
who at this day talk of a compromise as possi-
ble in the premises either use words without
definite meaning or, under the term compromise,
disguise an intent to commend and acquiesce in
a dissolution of the Union. And if they do mean
this, is not their ambiguity a plain confession
that they know what they propose to be too
odious to bear explicit avowal?

THE TWO ARMIES.

In grouping together a few obvious facts con-
cerning the land forces of the belligerents in the
pending war, our object is to encourage men of
the first class, but none other, to join the Na-
tional army.

I. Our rank and file, under the recent law of
Congress, are better paid than any other troops
in the world. Thirteen dollars per month for
privates would be deemed extravagant by any
foreign government.

II. The officers, regimental and line, are, with
some exceptions, nearly as well paid as those in
European nations. But, as American battle-fields
have so often proved the high-road to political
distinction, the pecuniary compensation is deemed
amplified by ambitious men.

III. Though there is no sufficient reason why
our troops should not be better fed and housed
and more tenderly cared for when sick and
wounded, than they now are, they are nearly a
well provided for in those respects as the best
armies of the most martial nations of the world,
while, in each of these particulars, our camps
and hospitals are undergoing a steady improve-
ment.

IV. Our volunteers are composed of as good
fighting materials as ever followed a chieftain to
the field. They combine the steadiness and stub-
bornness of the English, with the dash and daring
of the French. Indeed, our army comprises
large numbers of men from the races whence
European governments have recruited their best
soldiers, such as Irish, Scotch, Germans, French,
Hungarians, Italians, and the like, and it has in
its ranks both officers and privates who have
performed deeds of valor in some of the hottest
engagements on the other side of the Atlantic.

V. Though it is doubtless true, that under the
fervor of the first outbreak of patriotic enthu-
siasm, some officers hastily assumed the commands
for which they have since proved incompetent,
this error will be cured so soon as severer tests
of qualification come to be rigidly and impar-
tially applied. Stern measures will be hereafter
employed to select as leaders of our columns
men worthy of the brave and intelligent masses
who are to follow.

So much for the salient features of the Federal
army. Let us now turn to the Rebel force.

I. They have excellent fighting materials in the

Southern States. Though their soldiers have not
the general intelligence, nor the cool valor of
those of the North, nevertheless, the men of that
section are accustomed to the use of deadly
weapons, are proverbially reckless of human life,
and exhibit in large measure that dare-devilism
which is potent in a sharp, heady, desperate
contest.

II. Their officers, both of the higher and lower
grades, are, we presume, fully equal to ours.
Of the old army, Secession carried off the greater
share of educated military men. We incline to
the opinion that a large proportion of men from
the higher and more conspicuous ranks of society,
hold minor offices in the Rebel army than in
ours. Doubtless there is quite as much, perhaps
more, esprit du corps in their line officers as in
ours.

III. The Rebels are now superior to us in
cavalry. The South and South-West are famous
for furnishing bold riders. The comparatively
primitive condition of the country in regard to
railways, stage-coaches, and other means of pub-
lic conveyance, makes them a nation of accom-
plished equestrians.

IV. In sharpshooters, experts with the rifle,
they excel the better cultivated and more industrious
States of the North-East, whose people are too
busy in improving their farms, sailing their ships,
and running their mills to idle away their time
in hunting.

V. As to the important arm of artillery, the
Confederates have plenty of heavy guns which
they stole from us, beside many of smaller cal-
iber. They are also able to manufacture consid-
erable quantities. And they have in their ranks
some of the best artillerymen and engineers in the
old army. Sumter and Bull Run have proved
that they know how to use cannon of large and
light caliber.

VI. They are undoubtedly troubled to obtain a
full supply of muskets, rifles, and revolvers, of the
most approved patterns, notwithstanding the large
quantities they filched during the treasonable ad-
ministration of Floyd. But, they have several hun-
dred thousand of the best arms recently manufac-
tured at Springfield and Harper's Ferry, and, with
the machinery stolen from the latter armory, they
are able to turn out a very efficient article. They
have a manufactory in South Carolina, called the
"Palmetto Armory," which furnished some of the
best muskets used at Bull Run.

VII. As to provisions, though the blockade, if ef-
ficiently enforced, will deprive them of some luxu-
ries, a fruitful season will supply them probably
with an abundance of "hog and hominy," the
great staples upon which those who compose the
body of their army, have been accustomed to rely.

VIII. Finally, we think they will fight, and
fight desperately, too, because they go into battle
with halters around their necks and gibbets be-
fore their eyes.

Such are some of the characteristics and re-
sources of our foe, and thus he appears when
placed in juxtaposition with our own brave
army. Though he has little credit abroad, and
feeble monetary means at home, he will struggle
with the desperation of despair to acquire the
one and supply the other. Let us not underrate
either his genius or his prowess. Rather let us
feel that to overthrow him is no holiday task,
but will require the use of all the appliances and
advantages authorized by the usages of war.
Knowing that he is engaged in a wanton re-
bellion against the most beneficent Government
on earth, let us be cheered to the work of sub-
duing his revolt by the reflection that we are
thereby promoting the cause of civil and religious
freedom for ourselves and for all men.

WITHOUT HONOR IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

It is hard to understand, as it is humiliating
to witness, the rancor of *The New-York Times*
toward the New-York Fire Zouaves. Admitting
that the disparaging statement which is quoted
from the report of Col. Heintzelman with so
much emphasis into yesterday's issue is a fair
and conclusive one—admitting that a loss of two
hundred men is no proof of active fighting, and
that all the testimony of the Rebels to the de-
spairate valor and endurance of the Zouaves, and
all the malignity with which the foe has followed
them even to their captivity mean nothing what-
ever, it would still seem to be an unwarrantable
insult to proclaim, as *The Times* does, the "End
of Them," in exultant capitals, and to make
light of their services. Simple justice may, per-
haps, be at a discount with the editor of that
journal, but discreet judgment and good taste
might certainly be extended toward even the short-
comings of the Union Volunteers. A true sol-
dier will esteem it equally contemptible to vaunt
his own deeds, and to decry those of his com-
rades. Even if the editor of *The Times* had seen
with his own eyes cowardice and inefficiency
among the Zouaves, which does not seem to have
been the case, it would ill become him to add to
the natural discouragement of a reverse by their
exposure.

Such severe strictures as that "the Fire
Zouaves were just about the worst men in the
army, the most reckless in their behavior, the
least amenable to discipline, the most discon-
tented and complaining, the first to run from
the field, and the loudest braggarts after they
"had left it," are the more remarkable, because
The Times seems to appreciate fully the wisdom
of cheerfulness just at this juncture, of crediting
the returned soldiers with honorable patriotism
and zeal, and of inspiring them to renew their
sacrifices on the altar of their country. Close beside
the gross attack on the Fire boys, which we have
quoted, we find an article the whole force of
which is directed to the reëstablishment of "these
brave fellows." Every three months' man is
solicited to "feel it his duty to serve again—a
sacred duty to his country in her hour of
"danger," and he has the bright reward held
out to him that "he shall return again, to
"prouder ovals and a grander welcome, with
"the laurels of a whole campaign of victory
"upon his brow, etc." It may be doubted
whether the thousands of brave fellows in the
city, who stand ready to follow the Fire
Zouaves to the field, will quite understand this
sort of talk—whether they will care for such
laurels as abuse and detraction, the generous
beauty of *The Times*—whether it may not de-
press the cause of the Union quite below the
point of enthusiasm, not to speak of re-
enlistment to criticize sharply the conduct of
these "brave fellows" on the field.

The Times offers as a reason for the disgraceful
behavior of the regiment that "it was made
"up of men without character, who had been dis-
"tinguished for their rowdiness and disregard of
"law at home, and who were therefore expected
"to make good soldiers." This is precisely the

Rebel view of it. The mechanics of our North-
ern cities are "mudsills." The firemen who
risk life in defense of our life and property are
"gorillas." It does not matter that they were
among the very first to offer their services to the
Government, or that they gave up good employ-
ment to go to the War. They are still "men
"without character." They can't be made either
gentlemen or soldiers.

We are as ready as *The Times* to admit that
the Fire Zouaves, like all recruits, need better
drill and discipline. But we cannot, and possibly
the Zouaves who are yet in embryo in New-York
cannot, agree that there is an "End of Them"
because they are below the standard of the
"crack regiments."

STILL SLAVERING SLAVERY.

A great while ago we were told with admi-
rable gravity that during the War for the Union
all questions of Slavery should be put in abey-
ance; but the men who were the first to dictate
this golden rule, have been the first to violate it.
Some scolding tongues it is not in the power of
gods or men to silence; and some chronic grum-
blers are proof even against the prudence which
adversity generally teaches to all. Thus, we find
a certain atrabilious Boston newspaper—which,
perhaps, it is not necessary to name—attributing
all our woes to the impatient philanthropy of
"silly enthusiasts." It is hardly pretended that
Slavery is not an evil. The argument is that it
is a good evil—that it is an evil which must be
respected, coddled, and extenuated—that it is an
evil about which many fine things may be said;
and, above all, that it is an evil which it will be
perfectly proper to attack to-morrow, but which
it would be highly reprehensible to attack to-day.

This view of any subject less serious would be
amusing. This reversal of all ordinary moral
rules by which the burden of defense is trans-
ferred from the dock to the bench has had no
parallel since *Æsop's* wolf charged the lamb with
roiling the stream. We are to forget all the his-
tory and all the philosophy of the subject.
We are to forget that during the last half
century many of the freest denouncers of
Slavery have themselves been slaveholders. We
are to forget, although no social interest
has received such liberal concessions, yet that
none has been so continually exacting. For
nine-tenths of the Anti-Slavery agitation, Slavery
is itself responsible. It has given us no peace.
It has been satisfied by no compromise. The
policy of the Government has been changed fifty
times to conciliate it, and it has still remained
disloyal. There have been questions of territory,
and there have been questions of tariff; and in
respect of either, the South has had substantially
its own way. Yet it has still been discontented
and quarrelsome; still jealous of Northern prop-
erty and blind to the causes of that poverty
which we have not charged upon it, but about
which its newspapers and public men have always
been indecorously prating. The restlessness of
wrong-doing has continually haunted it; and like
all criminals it has sought to make one crime
cover another. Secession, though now exhibited
upon a larger scale, is no new thing. Virtually,
it was Secession to violate the United States
maims; to defy the authority of the Federal
Courts, as in the case of South Carolina, in the
matter of colored seamen; to spit upon the Con-
stitution by withholding the protection of the
State to citizens of the United States. The
audacity of passion which has so often disturbed
the serenity of the Senate, had by no means
schooled itself to silence before the election of a
Republican President; but for years it has dis-
turbed deliberation and sought to bridle debate.
But Slavery was not content with this. A great
party which for term after term secured the
Government, this institution claimed to hold in
fee-simple—dictating its nominations, coloring its
policy and controlling its leaders. This could not
forever last. The crisis came in the Charleston
Convention, and the Democratic party, weary of
a life of vassalage and of bond service without
consideration, struck for its liberty and died in
the struggle, leaving Slavery without an organ-
ized defense in the Northern States. Was this
the fault of the Republican party? Did not
rather these reckless and passionate men strip
themselves of alliance, and themselves throw
away friends in the hour of utmost need?

But even these aggressions and this